

Ninth Congress of the CPI(M) at Madurai

The Ninth Congress of the CPI (M) held at Madurai on and from June 27 to July 2 last, which aroused much expectation in the left political circle in our country that the CPI (M) will make an earnest attempt to probe into the causes for the impressive gain of the ruling Congress both at the Centre and in the states, judge in a spirit of self-criticism its wrong policies pursued in a multiplicity of national issues, admit the mistakes committed by it by disrupting the UF and its ministry both in West Bengal and Kerala owing to its left-opportunist and sectarian outlook, realise correctly the historical necessity of united front of left and democratic parties in the present phase of democratic struggle and work out the UF in a correct way and finally to adopt a firm approach for the promotion of united mass movements of left and democratic forces against the vested interests, ended far short of fulfilling this expectation.

The conspicuous lack of any serious mood on the part of the delegates who attended the Congress, the alarmingly low level of political consciousness of the delegates which made the task of the CPM leadership quite simple to get its political resolution adopted by the Congress, even though the resolution within itself contains contradictory positions of the CPM and betrays a surreptitious way of changing its earlier accepted policies, and above all, the vulgar practice of plagiarism indulged in by the CPM to steal other party's views and opinions and publicise the same as their own—all these characterise the justly concluded Congress of the CPM held at a most critical hour of our political life.

Biplab Sen

Lest the readers might think that we are falsely accusing the CPM, we are giving below the observations made by the CPM on some important national questions before and during the Congress, placing them side by side with the views expressed by our Party, the SUCI, (i) **On characterisation of the ruling Congress :**

The Central Committee of the CPM adopted earlier a resolution, which, *inter alia*, states as follows : "The Indira Gandhi wing also contains within its fold a healthy trend which hates

big landlords and monopolists. Despite the support its leaders seek and receive from the foreign monopolists and Indian reactionaries, it has raised certain slogans and taken certain measures which are in tune with the anti-monopoly democratic aspiration of the people." (Published in **People's Democracy**, February 15, 1970).

The Central Committee of the SUCI headed by its leader and General Secretary, Com. Shibdas Ghosh, adopted a resolution on bank nationalisation, which states, among others, that :

"The Central Committee is of the considered view that the present conflict inside the Congress centring the Syndicate-group and the Indicate group is not a struggle between the monopolists collaborating with imperialism, and the so-called "progressive national bourgeoisie," a close ally of "people's democratic revolution", or, in general terms between reaction and progress. It is nothing but a reflection of the contradiction between the conservative section of the bourgeoisie representing individual interests of the monopolists and the so-called radical section of the bourgeoisie representing aggregate interest of capitalism. The correct stand, would, therefore, be to take advantage of this contradiction, try to increase the

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Despite Shower of Promises Congress Merely Serving the Monopolists

The people of West Bengal were showered with promises by the Congress leaders just before and after the last election. But the present picture after six months of Congress rule is quite dismal. All the problems of this state have been much aggravated during this period.

Not only unemployment problem has increased but the people already employed are also getting retrenched, the unemployment among the educated has surpassed all past records. In the name of land reforms, a large number of share-croppers has been evicted and the land revenue for the middle peasants has been increased whereas the same for the big jotedars has been lowered. A state of near anarchy prevails in the sphere of education. Police and administration have been equipped with arbitrary power with which the legitimate movements of the peasants and workers are being crushed. Over and above these, the appalling price increase has made the life of the common man extremely intolerable.

The increase in prices of all essential commodities is primarily due to the fiscal policy of the Congress Government and the maximisation of profits by the monopolists. The deficit financing, huge amount of indirect taxation and unrestricted credit facilities to the monopolists, hoarders and blackmarketeers have opened

the flood gate of inflation. Moreover, the Government by avoiding all-out state trading in essential commodities has given a free hand to the monopolists, hoarders and black marketeers to effectively control the distribution channel of the essential commodities. These anti-social elements, by cornering the essential commodities create artificial scarcity to make fabulous profit. None of these tycoons have been arrested in MISA whereas this black Act is being frequently used to crush the democratic opposition.

Recently the members of the Youth Congress instead of putting pressure on the Congress Government to change its fiscal policy and to take effective steps against the monopolists, the black marketeers and the tycoons of the share market, are harassing the petty shopkeepers. This is being done to befool the people and also to protect the real culprit. This is no movement at all.

It is our considered view that if this Government is not forced through pressure of movement to take effective

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CPM'S SURREPTITIOUS WAY OF REVISING ITS POLICY

(Contd. from page 1)

rift between them and utilize it in developing mighty mass movements and accelerating the revolutionary preparation in our country." (Published in **Proletarian Era**, dated 3rd October, 1969).

The CPM in its political resolution adopted by the Ninth Congress now observes as follows: "While fighting the machinations of the Central Government and the Congress, our Party was fully aware of the meaning of the Congress split and was the **only party in the Left** that took a correct class attitude towards both the wings of the Congress. The fatuous revisionist reasoning that Indira Gandhi represented the anti-monopolist progressive section of the bourgeoisie was rejected by us." And further, "the vantage point gained by the ruling party now representing the **united will of the ruling classes**, is not likely to be surrendered easily."

(b) **On bank nationalisation :**

The CPM's position on bank nationalisation previous to the Ninth Congress runs as follows :

"The nationalisation of such institutions cannot but be a big event....The measure has opened up some new possibilities, and the progressive forces of the country should intervene to beat back determined reactionary opposition and see that nationalised banks truly become a *tool for fighting monopoly interests*" (**People's Democracy**, dated 3rd August, 1969).

Further, Mr. Rammurti, the CPI (M) leader, had said on the floor of the Lok Sabha (Published in the **People's Democracy**, 17th August, 1969) that "I and my party certainly welcome this measure as a **step in the right direction**. * * If out of factional conflict **something good** has come, let us have it and not look

at the conflict."

The Central Committee of the S. U. C. I. led by its General Secretary Com. Shibdas Ghosh adopted a resolution on bank nationalisation which states, *inter alia*, as follows: "It is one thing to support the demand for nationalisation of key and large-scale industries by the toiling millions engaged in fierce revolutionary struggle for emancipation from the yoke of capitalist exploitation while it is quite a different thing to support and eulogise an act of the bourgeoisie nationalising them. For, in a capitalist state, when the bourgeoisie takes recourse to nationalisation, it does so in the *aggregate interest of capitalism precisely to bring about coalescence of monopolies with the state* and thereby virtually subjugating the state to the interest of the monopolists. In this way the rock bottom foundation stone of fascism is laid." (**Proletarian Era**, dated 3rd October, 1969).

Even while commenting on the programme of democratic socialism, adopted by the Indian National Congress at its Bhubaneswar Session, our Party reflected a similar approach as above in an article published in the **Socialist Unity** in its issue of February, 1964.

According to CPM's political resolution adopted by its Ninth Congress :

"The nationalisation of banks in the main was intended to *centralise the banking resources in the government in the interest of the capitalist class as a whole without at the same time injuring the interests of the monopolists*. It was further intended to offer credit facilities to a certain extent to some non-big sections of the capitalists who were finding it difficult to get on under the stress of the crisis and to a section of the rural rich. It was also intended to mobilise the capital resources from the rural areas and was

paraded as mainly intended to serve the interests of the smaller man."

(c) **On the question of nationality oppression and centre-state relation.**

The West Bengal State Conference of the CPI (M) held at Midnapore on and from 16th to 20th January 1972 adopted a resolution on election, which observed as follows :

"They (the ruling Congress—E. d. P. E.) are taking the economy of West Bengal along the road to ruination destroying all noble traditions of West Bengal and are conspiring to convert West Bengal into a **colony of autocratic centre** (published in **Deshitaishi**, Bengali Organ of the CPI(M) dated, 28th January, 1972). Further in an article, "Is West Bengal a colony of New Delhi?" written by Mr. Niren Ghosh, well-known CPI(M) leader published in the same Bengali Organ, dated 25th February, 1972, it was stated that: "The state conference of our Party at Midnapore has correctly said that Delhi has **reduced West Bengal to its colony for all practical purposes**" The CPM leader Mr. P. Sundarayya, however, flatly denied any such comment made by the West Bengal leaders of the CPI(M) when questioned at a Press conference held just after the Ninth Congress.

The CPI(M) now in its political resolution adopted by the Ninth Congress says that: "The democratic demand for full autonomy to the states is being exploited by the vested interests in the states to increase their financial resources, to get additional power for themselves and, once again, cheat the masses. While struggling for the demand for real autonomy the working class has to give primary importance to the unity of its own class in India and carrying on a struggle for the unity of India based on the equality of all nationalities. It should refuse to

play second fiddle to the capitalists in the name of overcoming regional or state backwardness."

(d) **On the question of India's foreign policy.**

In characterising the basic object of India's foreign policy our Party had stated long ago that :

"India's basic foreign policy aims at fulfilling the need of Indian capitalism by using the various forms of contradictions which prevail in the different spheres of international politics. This basic policy takes shape in a variety of forms and is subject to many twists and turns as it utilises the various contradictions which appear in different stage of international politics. * * The Indian Government in pursuing its policy of Panchsheel is taking advantage of the *fundamental contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp*." (Quoted from an article published in **Ganadabi**—Bengal organ of the SUCI, dated 28th December, 1960).

Readers should compare this analysis of ours with the following statement of the CPI (M) now incorporated in the political resolution adopted by its Ninth Congress: "the capitalist regimes of these newly liberated countries have every reason to gloat over the fact that they have been able to successfully *bargain between the opposing camps of socialism and imperialism in furtherance of their path of capitalist development* and simultaneously suppress the democratic movement at home with impunity.

(e) **On the question of preservation of united front of left and democratic parties :**

Mr. Promode Dasgupta, a leader and Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of the CPI (M) in an address at a meeting organised by the Students Federation on the occasion of Lenin Centenary Celebrations had said that :

CPM PRACTISING PLAGIARISM

"The West Bengal United Front which is disintegrating, if it is allowed to survive, cannot serve the interest of common men of our country. Just as on one side this United Front is breaking down, so also on the other side, a new united front is emerging. In the *disintegrating process of a multi-party front, a class-based united front is taking shape*" (*Jugantar* dated 23rd January, 1970).

Further, in an article written by Mr. Promode Dasgupta published in *People's Democracy Special* issued on the Occasion of Lenin Birth Centenary it was stated that "Possibilities for development of a new *class-based front* is an integral condition of accomplishing the People's Democratic Revolution, of doing away with exploitation. In many of my recent speeches, I have said that in the towns and villages, this new class unity is beginning to appear. * * * This is no longer in the stage of an announcement, it is becoming a reality today. * * * This is an indication of the beginning of the People's Democratic Front towards which we are to advance. *We are, therefore, speaking of a class based united front.*"

In an article published in *Proletarian Era*, dated 7th November, 1970, our Party had stated on this issue as follows:

"As taught by the leader and teacher of our Party, Com. Shibdas Ghosh, the political and organisational leadership of different left and democratic parties in our country is in such a state now that the UF is the only alternative force which can effectively counter the offensive of Congress, Swatantra, Jan Sangh and other reactionary forces in the present stage. At present since there is not a single political party which can alone conduct the various democratic mass movements and successfully lead these

movements to their logical culmination the UF should not be looked upon as a mere exigency, but an indispensable weapon of democratic mass struggle. If this UF can be developed into an instrument of struggle, then and then only, the present democratic mass movements can be lifted to higher level, the various non-revolutionary parties gradually isolated from the masses by exposing their real character through ideological struggles on the basis of the principle of unity-struggle-unity without at the same time weakening the united movement against the main enemy and in this way with the establishment of the political and organisational leadership of the revolutionary party over the toiling people, the necessity of UF politics can truly be exhausted".

The political resolution adopted by the Ninth Congress of the CPI (M) now states: "It is necessary ...for *all democratic and Left parties, all democratic groups and individuals* to come together to battle against the rise of fascist trends, of one party rule and protect the civil liberties and democratic rights of the people."

The above quotations definitely indicate that:

The CPM has made a subtle shift in many of their policies accepted beforehand.

The CPM has switched over to new policies in a surreptitious way without publicly admitting, in a spirit of self-criticism, that its past formulations were wrong.

There is a despicably low level of political consciousness of CPM ranks and leading members of the party.

The CPM has deliberately indulged in a vile practice of plagiarism by smuggling SUC's correct views and opinions and championing these as their own.

Such instances of deliberate falsehood, surreptitious way

of changing its previous accepted policies practiced by the CPI(M) and smuggling of other party's, namely S.U.C's correct views and opinions and championing these as their own can be multiplied still further. But it amply demonstrates how the CPM, "has been able to adopt a correct Marxist-Leninist line in our country and have pursued it against tremendous odds" and how sincere the Party is when it says that its "cadres must realise that without a conscious understanding of the revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary practice."

To the CPIM cadres and supporters, one is likely to ask, is this the way to correctly apply "Marxism-Leninism to the concrete situation in our country?" Can a communist party, worth its name, behave and conduct the ideological struggle to lead the toiling masses to their cherished goal as shown by the CPM? Does it not clearly reveal the political bankruptcy of the CPM leadership, absence of any communist norm and code of conduct and sheer opportunism indulged in by the CPM to befool its own ranks and the masses of the people so as to hide its real class position? Besides, what sort of collective leadership, level of culture and political understanding of the cadres and leading representatives of the CPM is expressed through the political resolution adopted by its Ninth Congress? When the CPM leadership is taking patently contradictory positions in its past and present formulations about the ruling Congress, without, however, admitting that its former policies were wrong, not a single delegate in the Congress was found who protested against it or pointed it out. It clearly reflects the extremely low political standard of the CPM ranks with a bureaucratic leadership at the top, the

leadership preserving its position by taking full advantage of the lack of communist understanding of its followers and capitalising simply on their blind loyalty to the party. Can such a party which thrives on blindness, deliberate attempt on the part of leadership to keep its ranks in the dark, absence of the dialectical process of building up collective leadership and the required level of political consciousness of the members of the party which enable them to take part in the deliberations in the Congress deserve to be called as a real revolutionary working class party?

While dealing with the question of breakdown of the UF Governments in West Bengal, the CPM in its political resolution has observed thus: "In order to disrupt the democratic forces, the Indira Congress aided by its propaganda machine, its power in the Centre, and by the treacherous conduct of parties like the Bangla Congress, the Right CP, succeeded in toppling the UF Government in West Bengal." It was further observed by the CPM in the said resolution that "our party was equally consistent in defending the UF and the unity of the Left and democratic forces inspite of all provocations from our erstwhile allies. * * * Our party persistently tried to defend and work the United Front Government without surrendering their role as the mobilisers of popular struggle and movement. * * We openly encouraged mass struggles while in the Ministry and granted them full protection." Such bold assertion of the CPM regarding its role within the UF Ministry and outside is true in the negative sense. The situation of West Bengal as it is obtaining now would have been altogether different had the CPM behaved even remotely in accordance with the words mentioned above.

STRING OF FALSE CLAIMS BY CPM

Rather, the people of West Bengal who had relied greatly on UF and UF Government have a grim tale to tell about the CPM politics which had smeared the UF and its government and became the main factor for the downfall of the last UF Government and disruption of the United Front. No amount of political jugglery and deliberate falsehood as practiced by the CPM in its political resolution can erase the fact that it was the CPM which first introduced the politics of terror and murder in West Bengal within the left movement, indulged in big party chauvinism, initiated hate campaign against constituent partners of the UF, recruited anti-social elements within its fold and mobilised them to conduct murderous assaults on members and supporters of other left political parties belonging to UF. The induction of anti-social elements by the CPM was a reality which the CPM could not ignore, as was evident in the Five Party Statement on the issue. The CPM, of course, tried to generalise the phenomenon and held other parties of the Front also responsible for sheltering anti-socials. This was a queer attempt on the part of the CPM to muddle the whole issue. Our Party pointed out then that since the CPM was directly in charge of the Police administration it was quite natural that the anti-socials would prefer the CPM most to seek police protection. Did the CPM guard itself from giving refuge to the anti-socials? Rather, on the contrary, it invited the anti-socials and engaged them against other parties to suit its sectarian ends.

Further the CPM being obsessed with an idea of "class-based front" and preaching a theory that "the role of UF has been exhausted" took recourse to worst opportunistic and violent tactics with a view

to anyhow expand its party's influence by physically annihilating members of other parties and mass organisations. These murders and assaults on fraternal parties and mass organisations were clamoured by the CPM as intensification of so-called class struggle. Not only the anti-socials were given well protection by the CPI (M) but they were the actual storm troopers in CPM's bid to intensify class struggle. Such behaviour of the CPM far from helping the real class struggle to grow and develop actually maligned the nobility of communist ideology and reduced class struggle to cowardly violence and murders in the eye of the people. It was this left opportunistic and disruptive politics indulged by CPM and their treating the front partners as enemies, which had weakened the unity of the Front. CPM not only did not show even scant regard for the necessity of preserving the unity of the Front, the only instrument of mass struggle against vested interests but even nakedly used the Police administration under its control to serve its sectarian interests. Such narrow opportunistic activities of the CPM which destroyed the cohesion of UF from within, no doubt, provided a big handle to the Congress ruling at the Centre, the bureaucrats and the other rightist political forces to wage conspiracy against UF and the UF Government in the state. So, the CPM, as it is trying now, cannot absolve itself of its responsibility for primarily causing the situation which brought disintegration of the Front. Judged in the light of this narrow attitude and disruptive activities of the CPM the claim of the CPM that "it was equally consistent in defending the UF and the unity of Left and democratic forces in spite of all provocations from our erst-

while allies" is simply preposterous. Not only the CPM failed to make any endeavour for keeping alive the UF and its government by mending its ways, despite repeated requests by the allies of the Front, who fell victim to CPM's violent attacks with the help of anti-socials and backed by the Police but even in the most critical stage when the UF was virtually gasping, our Party's concrete proposals regarding the functioning of the UF Ministry and the UF as 'one man' and 'one body' were turned down by the CPM on flimsy ground and no attempt was made whatsoever, on its part, to restore the lost unity of the Front. Regarding the proper approach to view the nature of differences among UF partners, it was categorically stated in our proposals that "We would like to emphasise it here again that it is not these differences that have created the present problem, rather it is the lack of understanding as to how to resolve these differences and for that how to conduct ideological discussions and struggles in various ways keeping at the same time the united functioning of the Government, the UF and the united struggles outside in tact. Most of the constituent parties have not only failed to differentiate the nature of the conflict between the UF as a whole and its common enemy from the nature of the conflict among the constituent parties themselves centring round their differences in approach and angularity as to how to implement the 32-point programme but also confused the nature of the latter conflict with that of the former one. As a result, struggles among the constituents very often took the form of physical assault, violence etc., as if it was a struggle against the enemy. Any attempt to resolve these two different struggles in the

same method, being guided by the same outlook, is sure to create trouble and this is exactly what is happening." (P. Era dated 9th March, 1970) More, when other left parties, specially our Party, was persistently trying for the creation of a proper climate to revive UF, the CPM showed no sign of rectifying its mistakes and behaved as before. CPM's fanatic workers and supporters were still then rending the sky with the discredited slogan of "class based front" and marching on with its hate campaign against and extermination of other left parties and mass organisations. The CPM cannot put forward any material evidence to justify its claim that it was consistent in defending the unity of left and democratic forces. Rather, not only the solidarity of the UF was vastly weakened due to the left-opportunist and disruptive politics of the CPM but also the different left-oriented mass organisations like RSS, AITUC, ABTA ABPTA, Co-ordination Committee of the West Bengal Government employees were disintegrated as CPM tried to forcibly impose its party outlook on other non-CPM members in these organisations in a most undemocratic manner brushing aside any criticism against CPM's faulty leadership.

The CPM's other claim that it "openly encouraged mass struggles while in the Ministry and granted them full protection" is substantiated by no factual evidence. Not only did it weaken the UF by pursuing left-opportunist and disruptive politics, but even in the matter of conducting organised mass struggles against the vested interests on various legitimate democratic issues of the toiling people, it had betrayed the people, kept the main enemy, the vested interests in peace, making all sorts of clandestine understanding with them and played a positively mischievous role

DID CPM "DEFEND" MASS STRUGGLES

in this field too. Instead of actively encouraging the legitimate democratic mass movements of various sections of the toiling people, it positively discouraged the democratic masses to take to the path of organised struggle to realise their just demands, and even depicted that such movements during the UF regime would simply harm the interest of UF and its Ministry. It laid, on the contrary, great stress on making some arrangements with the monopolists, the jotedars and the bureaucrats, by using its position in the Ministry and thereby, granting some concessions to the people. Its denial to scrap the undemocratic service rules and the C. C. R. for the government employees, its reluctance to meet the demands of class IV employees not to use them in personal service, its attempt to paint the police force as pro-people without weeding out from it the corrupt elements who had indulged in many criminal activities against genuine interests of the people, its increase in the police budget even while the U. F. Government could not ensure the people the fulfilment of its earlier promises as in the educational field due to paucity of resources, the C.P.M. leader Mr. Jyoti Basu's move for fresh enactment of P. D. Act in the state though he had to withdraw this move subsequently due to pressure of our Party's Ministers within the U. F. Cabinet, the failure of CPM Minister who was directly in charge of Land and Land Revenue Department to give legal titles to the landless peasants who seized **benam** land illegally occupied by the jotedars during the 13-months tenure of the U. F. Ministry, the CPM leader Mr. Jyoti Basu's concurrence with the Union Minister's proposal for keeping the C.R.P. within the state for favour of recognition of C.P.M.-dominated union in

HSL at Durgapur—all these facts among many others are a glaring testimony of how the CPM "openly encouraged mass struggles while in the Ministry and granted them full protection." It is not by chance that the C. P. M. leaders were praised by the monopoly-controlled Press and the Houses of Big Business for their attitude to the working class struggles and they also were rejoiced to say that due to C.P.M.'s handling of Labour Ministry, the workers had received benefits without much struggle—an expression which clearly speaks the C.P.M.'s mind to avoid the path of mass struggle. Numerous more instances can be cited which stand in open contrast to the claim now being made by the C.P.M. in its political resolution adopted by the Ninth Congress. Besides, it was noticed that the C.P.M., utilising its superior position in the Assembly and outside did not feel shy of nakedly using the Police and general administration under its control for its petty sectarian ends thereby destroying administrative neutrality to the extreme and even succeeded in creating a vicious circle around it of Indian big business, foreign monopolists, the big jotedars and the bureaucrats virtually to stifle the democratic mass movements against them. Furthermore, instead of relying on growing mass struggle and developing a fighting spirit within the forces of democratic movement, it introduced worst opportunism among workers, the peasants and the government employees with a sectarian outlook arising out of it. That right implies duty, a man demanding his right must necessarily discharge his social responsibility first of all, otherwise, right becomes a privilege—C.P.M. failed to bring this lesson to the fore of democratic movement, and contrarily, boosted up a privilege-seeking mental-

ity among the workers and government employees.

So it is seen that in its present formulation about the ruling Congress, the nature of the split within the Congress and the essential class interests which were sought to be fulfilled by the ruling Congress through the execution of so-called progressive policies, like bank nationalisation and other similar steps there is ostensibly noticed not only a shift in their earlier stand but also gross violation of norms and code of conduct. Under cover of different words and phrases, the CPM is trying to whitewash its past misdeeds and wrong political approach towards the Congress. Like the C.P.I., the C.P.M. also was no less generous in giving progressive certificates to the Indira wing of Congress which contributed largely to ruling Congress's effort of projecting a progressive image of it before the people. C. P. M.'s anti-Congressism grew in intensity precisely at a period when all its hopes to come to a sort of understanding with the Congress(R) on an all India plane were dashed as Mrs. Indira Gandhi refused to part company with the C.P.I. for accommodating the C.P.M. which had a smaller stature compared to the CPI in the national context. So C.P.M.'s anti-Congressism did not proceed from any consistent left political angularity as its subsequent political acts like joining hands with the Syndicate Congress, Jan Sangh and other reactionary parties as in Kerala Mid-term election will conclusively show. Our Party had even witnessed the CPM supporting Congress (R) candidate as against our candidate, the only left candidate fielded in bye-elections at Dholai and Bahadurgar constituencies in Assam and Haryana respectively. In the face of this stark reality the bold assertion of the CPM that it

"was the only party in the Left that took a correct class attitude towards both the wings of the Congress" and that it rejected "the fatuous revisionist reasoning that Indira Gandhi represented the anti-monopolist progressive section of the bourgeoisie" is, to say the least, most hypocritical, purported to conceal its actual anti-working class role in this regard.

A mighty wave of anti-Congressism which surfaced since 1967 provided a big enough opportunity to the left political parties functioning in the country to project an alternative to the Congress before the people on a national scale through the formation of united front of left democratic parties. Such an united front would encourage and insensify the legitimate democratic mass movements on various issues and gradually establish its influence over the entire sections of toiling masses. But such a possibility could not be explored because of CPM's left-opportunist and disruptive politics which disrupted the UF and brought downfall of the UF Governments both in Kerala and West Bengal consequent on which the prospect of UF providing an effective alternative to the Congress in a national context could not take root in the minds of the toiling people. Added to it, the CPM and other big left parties' effort of characterising the so-called radical measures of the ruling Congress as progressive served in a big way the Congress (R)'s attempt to sway the broad sections of the masses through its progressive gimmicks and firmly re-establish itself from a position of virtual extinction in many states.

In the political resolution while dealing with the role of the Chinese Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the CPM has accused both these Parties as suffering from Left

CPM'S UNPRINCIPLED ACCUSATIONS AGAINST CPC

and Right-opportunist views respectively entailing with it a severe setback to the world communist movement. It has observed that not only China and Soviet Union have failed to co-ordinate their efforts to halt US aggression in Vietnam, and have limited their help to the liberation fighters in Vietnam, merely to supply of arms, but even in the face of renewed barbaric attacks of US gangsters have held talks with the US President, Mr. Nixon without cancelling his trip to Peking and Moscow, "the least they, the Soviet Union and China—could have done in the face of the challenge" posed by the USA. CPM has further levelled charge against China for not mentioning even "a word of condemnation of or protest against the intensified bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam" in the Chou-Nixon communique. It was further observed by CPM that while giving aid to the newly independent capitalist countries no account is being taken by the Soviet Union and China about the anti-democratic and anti-communist measures of the ruling class of these countries. Also while giving recognition to the Communist and Workers Parties in different soil, the parties which serve the immediate needs of their foreign policies are being recognised. It is because of the right-revisionist and ultra-left adventurist policies pursued by the CPSU and the CPC that many of these parties have virtually become appendage of the ruling capitalist class and are even going to liquidation as a result of it.

It has to be noted that though the CPM has put the blame equally on the Communist Party of Soviet Union and China for the deep setback the communist movement has suffered, it has not provided any analysis as to the causes which led to the split within the communist camp. If the CPM were really interested in cement-

ing the lost unity of the world socialist camp and upholding the cause of proletarian internationalism, it would have first of all provided a concrete analysis, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist teachings of the major issues now confronting the communist world, namely, the issues of war and peace, revolutionary significance of peace movement, possibility of peaceful way of transition to socialism in the prevailing international situation, the principles to govern the relationship between the different communist parties and the socialist countries, the concept of communist morality and ethics, the question of dictatorship of the proletariat etc. etc. These are the issues which are of fundamental importance which lie at the root of present Sino-Soviet differences and their mutual strained relation growing out of it. In our considered view, in the ideological struggle within the communist camp, the Chinese Communist Party in essence is upholding the cause of proletarian revolutionary movement and communist internationalism, despite some grave shortcomings and our Party has come to this conclusion on the basis of a correct analysis on the issues mentioned above. But, curiously, the CPM, without giving any analysis as to the nature of differences between the two communist parties, and properly evaluating the role played by the two communist parties in the matter of accelerating the process of national liberation struggles and revolutionary movements throughout the globe is simply levelling accusations against them. What sort of communist conduct is it? If building up unity of the socialist camp primarily engaged their attention, then the underlying causes for the disruption of it should have been exposed. But the CPM instead, is simply

pointing its accusing finger at the two mighty socialist states which in no way can help restore lost unity of the socialist camp. Besides, to level charge against China that no word of condemnation of or protest against the renewed US bombing was there in the Chou-Nixon communique is quite absurd. There is hardly any ground to suspect that China is not helping the struggling people of Vietnam to the extent it can and as required by the freedom fighters themselves. China's support to the national liberation struggles shows no sign of slackening because of Chou-Nixon communique. Even in the communique, it was stated in general terms that China firmly adheres to the cause of revolutionary movement and national liberation struggles going on in different countries in the globe. To quote a relevant portion of it, "The Chinese side stated that it firmly supports the struggles of all the oppressed people and nations for freedom and liberation and that the people of all countries have the right to choose their social system according to their own wishes and the right to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own countries and oppose all foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion. All foreign troops should be withdrawn to their own countries." (Broadsheet, Vol. 9, No. 5)

So it leaves no one to have any scope of doubt about China's sincerity regarding its support for further intensification of national liberation struggles, including the struggle of the Vietnamese people, against imperialism. Besides, the joint communique is purported to fulfil a different aim, that is to normalise the state relation between the People's Republic of China and the USA. A socialist

state always as a basic principle of its foreign policy strives to build up normal peaceful relation with the capitalist states and co-exist peacefully with them, as it serves the interest of appropriately handling the growing contradiction within the world imperialist camp, safeguarding world peace and building up rapidly the socialist economy within its own soil. If the revolutionary significance of the policy of peace and peaceful co-existence is correctly grasped, then pursuing such a policy, the socialist states with the help of their superior military might coupled with the growing intensification of national liberation struggles, the revolutionary movements and progressive democratic movements in the capitalist countries can thrust peace on the imperialist powers, prevent imperialist intervention and aggression on weaker nations and thereby give a fillip to the revolutionary struggles in the different soils, where the imperialist countries cannot drag in their feet to crush these struggles. So, no one worth a Marxist-Leninist can oppose any attempt of a socialist state to normalise state relation with any other country belonging to the opposite camp of world imperialism-capitalism. So long the socialist world is encircled by the imperialist-capitalist world system, such a peaceful normal state relation between a socialist state and a capitalist state is bound to exist, as a socialist state cannot engage itself in a perpetual war with the capitalist countries, neither can it export revolution to those countries. In case of China, it was the U.S.A. which in tune with its imperialist design to isolate China put an embargo on China, instituted series of aggressive military bases around China and even dared to launch military attack on China—all these together

CPM Guilty of Violation of Communist Norms and Code of Conduct

had obstructed China to develop normal relation with the U.S.A. But when now the U.S.A. itself is lifting its embargo and showing keenness to bring normal relation with China there is no reason why China should keep its door shut and allow its present strained relation with the U.S.A. to continue still further. Chou-Nixon communique is aimed at fulfilling this purpose. But peaceful foreign policy of a socialist country cannot be the same as the domestic policy of a communist party of any country struggling for emancipation of its toiling people. "Modern revisionists seek to confuse the peaceful foreign policy of the socialist countries with domestic policies of the proletariat in capitalist countries. Peaceful co-existence between nations and people's revolution in various countries are by nature two different things, not the same thing; two different concepts, not one; two different kinds of questions, not the same kind of question." (**Long Live Leninism**)

Our Party, the SUCI, led by its leader and teacher Com. Shibdas Ghosh had long ago sounded a note of caution relating to the nature of the two policies.

"It should be noted that the state policy of Soviet Union or China cannot be the same as the policy of international working class movement. It would be wrong to assume that one is exactly identical with the other despite the fact that the two policies are mutually conducive to each other" (quoted from **Ganadabi**, Bengali organ of the S.U.C.I. dated **8th Nov. 1954**)

Its second part is that both the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. are giving recognition to those communist and workers parties in different countries which serve to fulfil the short-term need of their foreign policies. The Soviet Union

and China bracketed together, have been further accused by the C.P.M. of giving aid to the newly independent capitalist countries, lopsidedly eulogising the anti-imperialist activities of the ruling class in these countries while keeping mum about their anti-democratic and anti-communist measures at home. The liquidation and virtual selling out of many communist and workers parties to act according to the dictates of the ruling class are, as considered by C.P.M. the outcome of right revisionist and left-opportunist policies of the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. which have bestowed their blessings on these parties. It is no doubt true that in the sphere of mutual relationship between different communist parties and between the leading communist party and the rest, a mechanical approach was long in practice and a mechanical, formal relationship replacing dialectical relationship which ought to be the guiding principle governing mutual relationship among the different communist parties reigned over the communist world over a long period. But to urge for creating conditions for such a healthy dialectical relationship to be re-established in the communist world cannot lead one to conclude that the narrow views of the leading communist parties, as alleged by the C.P.M., have been mainly responsible for liquidation or surrender to bourgeois class interests of many communist parties in different countries. To say so is to deny the relatively independent role of a communist party wedded to the task of concretising the revolutionary ideology in its own soil and chalking out the correct revolutionary strategy in the concrete conditions obtaining in the national sphere for the emancipation of the toiling

millions. It is precisely this historic task which the present CPM and even while it was in the united CPI, failed to carry out because of its non-working class character and itself behaved as a mechanical adjunct of the world communist body. It was our Party alone which all along emphasised on the supreme importance of concretisation of a revolutionary theory by the communist party, worth its name, in its own soil and renouncing the habit of merely rubber-stamping the decisions of the leading communist party. It is only by way of such a dialectical approach to the leading communist party that the leadership of the international communist movement can be further strengthened and the unity of the socialist camp better cemented on the basis of a real understanding between the constituents of the world communist camp on the various intricate issues. But the C.P.M. then and even the other day had made derisive remarks on this correct analysis of our Party.

As regards the question of giving aid to the newly independent capitalist countries, the socialist countries, by such aid, further intensify the contradictions within the world imperialist-capitalist camp, isolate the big imperialist powers from the under-developed countries by helping their national economy to develop further and reduce the stranglehold of the imperialist powers over them. But while rendering this aid it would be wrong to eulogise onesidedly the anti-imperialist activities of the national bourgeoisie of these countries and try to appease them even when they are engaged in anti-communist and anti-democratic actions at home. Our Party long ago had criticised such a policy of appeasement of a socialist country. But the CPM, how-

ever, at that time, when it was in the united C. P. I., viewed it differently and uncritically rendered their support to the national bourgeoisie, hailing the policy of non-alignment and temporary adherence to the policy of peace adopted by the bourgeoisie to serve best its class interests.

The present posture of C.P.M. to blow hot against Soviet Union and China and bemoan over the fate of some communist parties owing allegiance to them not inspired by any genuine concern for restoration of lost unity of the socialist camp on the basis of a correct norm and communist code of conduct. Rather, its unenviable position of falling out of grace of the two mighty socialist states has triggered this hostile position of the CPM vis-a-vis Soviet Union and China. More, to order to prove its bonafide as a communist party owing allegiance to communist internationalism, the CPM is currently engaging itself in a frantic search for a new kind of grouping within the communist world, with Rumania, much more rightist than the revisionist CPSU, occupying as the pivotal point of this the emerging group.

This article has dealt with only some of the issues misused by the CPM in its political resolution adopted by its Ninth Congress at maurai but it sufficiently shown to what length of absurdity, unprincipled behavior and practice of falsehood the CPM can indulge in to buttress its left image and shield its non working class character from its own rank and file and the popular forces in our country. This is the objective practice of every petty-bourgeois social-democratic party which frequently puts out radical slogans but acts in the opposite direction. CPM's surreptitious way of revising

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Ninth Congress of the CPI(M)

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its policy without having courage to admit its mistakes publicly, its attempt to steal other party's correct views and opinions, without giving recognition to that party and publicise those views as their own, its open denial of its past activities, and even more, its boasting of the very activities which have caused a tremendous setback to the left democratic movement in the country—from all these some questions naturally crop up which the CPM cadres and the masses under its influence should seriously ponder. Is not the CPM altering its policy every now and then to suit its immediate purpose without looking into the effect it produces in the left political situation in our country? Has not the CPM deliberately kept the level of consciousness of its own rank and file to such a low level that even when a clear shift in its past accepted policies is being stealthily introduced not a single delegate in the Congress can be found to stand to protest against it or point it out? Can a party which averts the path of growing consciousness of its own rank and file, let alone

speaking of the toiling millions groaning under capitalism, lead the masses to their cherished goal? Has not the CPM by making opportunistic alliances with the reactionary and communal parties like the Syndicate Congress, the DMK, the Akali Dal, the Muslim League smeared a good deal the fair face of leftist movement in our country? Can a party which is afraid to admit its past mistakes and is reluctant to draw correct lessons out of it hold aloft the banner of revolutionary working class ideology, the noblest of all ideologies that humanity has ever seen before? Besides, what sort of a communist party is the CPM which is betraying more and more its nationally oriented positions, behaving as an appendage of the ruling national bourgeoisie of our country, and is renouncing the principle of proletarian internationalism? These are some questions, we hope, should stir the minds of the CPM ranks and supporters and cause them to re-think as India is passing through the most critical phase when fascism is looming largely on the horizon.

Join Mass Deputation on 4th Oct.

(Contd. from page 1)

steps like strict fiscal discipline, putting a halt once for all to deficit financing and indirect taxation, stoppage of unrestricted credit facilities to the monopolists, introduction of all-out state trading in all the essential commodities and above all exemplary punishment to the tycoons and the monopolists, the prices can not be lowered. As such our Party along with other left and democratic parties has called for united movement against the policies of Congress Government.

The CPI which is finding progressiveness within Congress, has also separately

called for movement against these issues like unemployment, spiralling of prices etc. But these problems are due to the pro-monopolist policies of the Congress Government and as such any movement for redressal of these demands must be directed against the Congress Government. But the CPI instead of launching united movement against the Congress, is eulogising it. No word is strong enough to condemn such opportunistic politics of the CPI.

In the first phase of the movement squatting, demonstrations etc. are being organised in blocks, sub-divisions and district head-

MASSIVE RALLY IN PATNA

Patna, September 18—Jointly organised by the CPI (M) SUCI, RSP and different wings of the SP, a massive demonstration was staged here today outside the Bihar Legislative Assembly to protest against famine condition, rising prices, unemployment, mounting police oppression, etc. in the state. Carrying red flags and placards processionists poured into the city from different parts of the state. In fact, it was one of the biggest demonstrations Patna had witnessed in recent years.

Later, a big public meeting was held in Gandhi Maidan under the presidentship of Shri Ramanand Tewari, leader of the SP.

Speaking on behalf of the SUCI, Com. N.R. Singh strongly criticised the ruling Congress Government in the state for not declaring the affected areas as famine-stricken areas and for importing sectarian petty party politics into relief work. He showed how the policies of the government were pushing up prices of essential commodities.

He demanded the

immediate opening of 300 closed industrial units in the state and re-employment of workers who had lost their jobs because of this closure.

Mentioning the mounting police oppression on common men, Com. Singh elaborately dealt with the measures through which the ruling Congress and its governments were taking the country along fascist path.

Other speakers in the meeting included Suraj Narayan Singh (SP), Hare Krishna Konar (CPM), Gurbachan Singh (RSP) and Karpoori Thakur (SP).

Mass Demonstrations in Marhowrah

Marhowrah, September 16—Under the joint auspices of the SUCI and the Kisan Aur Khet Majdoor Sangh big mass demonstrations were staged before the Marhowrah and Amnour Block Development offices. A deputation led by Com. Amar Kumar Pandey presented memoranda to the officers concerned.

The memoranda contained, among others, the demands for declaring the areas under the above-mentioned blocks as famine-stricken areas, and the bringing down of prices of essential commodities within the reach of the people, introduction of all out state-trading in essential commodities.

After the demonstrations, mass meetings were held at

the two places where speakers called upon the people to solidly organise themselves under the banner of the SUCI and conduct mass movements to realise their just demands.

SUC Leader held on False Charge

Com. Shiv Sankar, Secretary, Muzaffarpur District Committee of the SUCI, had been arrested by police on 24th August last on false charges at the instance of the local jotedars against whom the agricultural labourers, landless peasants and poor peasants under the leadership of SUCI are conducting struggles for realising their just demands.